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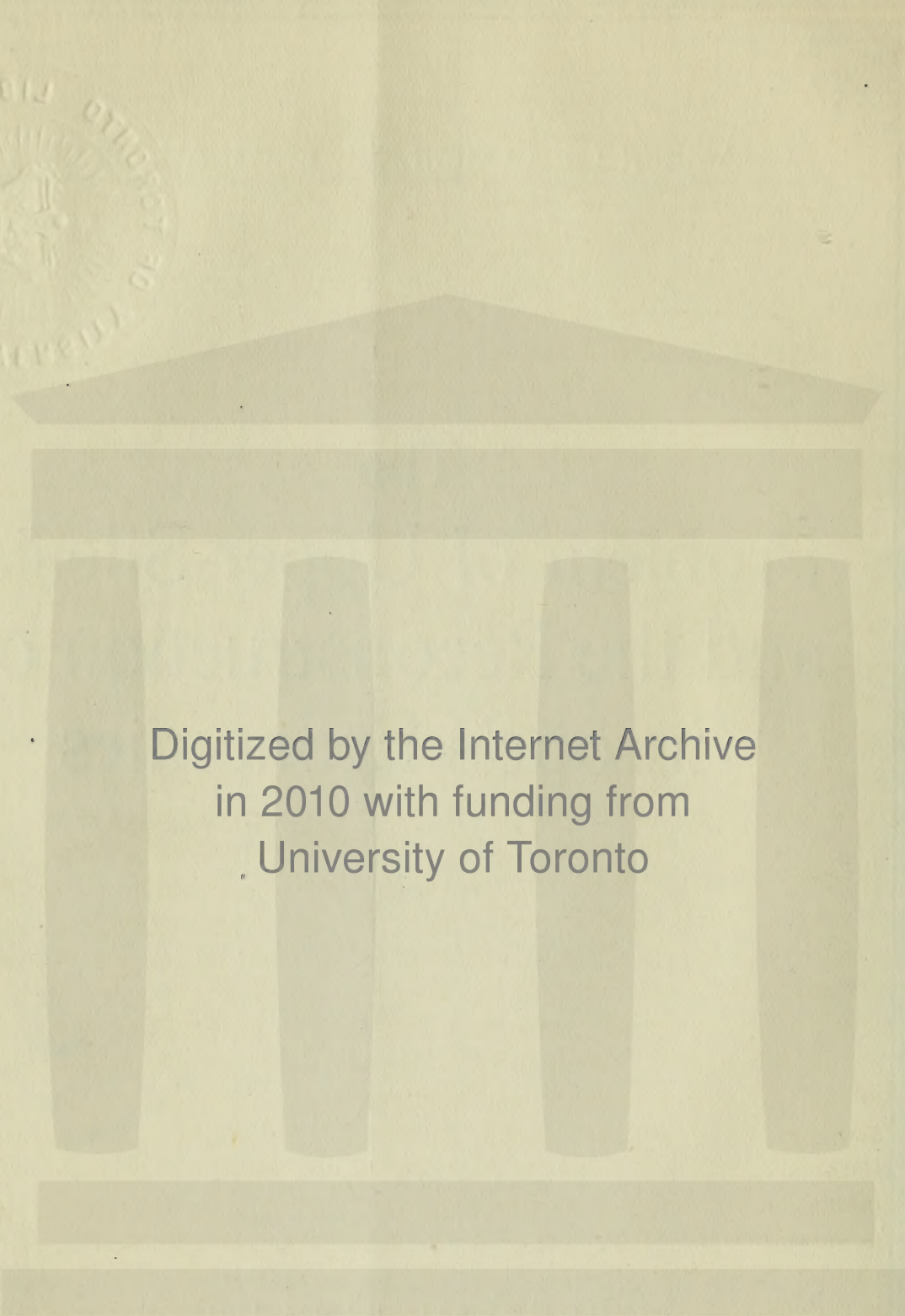
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BRESLAU, SILESIA

The
Problem of Upper Silesia
and the Reconstruction of
Europe's Economics



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BRESLAU, JUNE 1921

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The vast importance of Upper Silesia for the world's economics as well as for the reconstruction of Europe is being recognized more and more by experts of all countries. In pre-war times when Upper Silesia's belonging to Germany economically, was undisputed also outside Germany, none but the experts of certain economical branches were aware of the greatness and abundance of the easily accessible treasures of those regions. The coal output of Upper Silesia forms an important item in the economics of the world: it averaged before the war 46 million tons per annum i. e. the fourth part of the output of Germany and double the amount Russia and Belgium produced and with exception of the great coal-producing countries England and America it is only equalled by France. It must also be remembered that the output can easily be considerably increased, for the supplies of coal in Upper Silesia are among the greatest in the world. The mines are easily worked, the quality of the coal is good. *Of all Europe Upper Silesia has also the most considerable Zinc production. Nearly a fifth of the Zinc production of the whole world comes from Upper Silesia.* This district is also of no less importance for the production of iron and lead and for manufacturing with these metals. In 1913 the gross produce of the Upper Silesian coal mines and iron foundries was estimated at 940 million marks.

It is evident that a district offering such economic advantages is of greatest importance for the reconstruction of Europe, whose changed state has been occasioned by the war. This could not possibly be recognized when peace was concluded at Versailles the separate requirements for the reconstruction of Europe not being apparent then. Europe is now placed face to face with a complication of economic problems in the solution of which Upper Silesia will have to play a more or less considerable part. After carefully investigating all points the German government despatched several notes to the Supreme Council declaring Germany's inability to pay her reparation debts, should she be deprived of Upper Silesia and stating that this event would also certainly cause her economic ruin. In all countries concerned in the reconstruction

of Europe the conviction has been arrived at that Germany's economic destruction would paralyse business in other countries.

The restoration of European economics is chiefly dependent on the removal of this danger.

Before the war Germany ranked among the chief purchasers of raw materials and with her extensive manufacturing she was engaged in all branches of trade. These industries are of course entirely dependent on the quantity of coal at her disposal. To deprive Germany of more coal than has already been done by the Peace Treaty of Versailles means the ruin of German industry and the loss of German custom for raw materials and goods. *The fact that all countries concerned in European economics are more or less dependent on each other and even form a unit in some districts can no longer be overlooked with impunity.*

In the interests of the World's Economics it is absolutely necessary to increase to the utmost the output of coal everywhere. Great damage has been caused by the war which must be repaired in the next decades, unless all countries are to diminish their production considerably below a sound economic level. Thus a coal district of such extraordinary wealth and with such easily worked mines as Upper Silesia, deserves the special attention of the whole world. *All countries have an interest in the question as to whether the coal output is to be raised or greatly decreased in this important district.*

Experts of foreign nations who travelled and made studies in Upper Silesia before the war and particularly during the Plebiscite are unanimous, respecting the very high grade of development of the Upper Silesian industry and on its further development being dependent on these industrial districts remaining united to Germany. It is unnecessary for the present to mention that the Upper Silesian industry has an economic tendency to the West and is in many respects dependent on the West i. e. Germany. But here it must be stated that the foundries are dependent on Germany for their reserves of engineers and workmen, and that *97 % of the mining officials are Germans.* An English investigation commission which made enquiries in Upper Silesia as to the possibility of starting „Fein Industrie“ in connection with the ironworks has come to the conclusion that the „Fein Industrie“ would have to get all their workmen from the West (Germany) and not from the East (Poland). The non-German workman coming to Upper Silesia from the East is not an available substitute and seldom rises to the position of a skilled workman or to that of an official. When he does so he, in

his raised position, soon gets attracted by German culture. If the importance of the Upper Silesian industrial district with its abundance of treasures beneath and above ground had been known to its full extent at the time of the Treaty of Versailles, and if the importance of this district for European economics and for the reconstruction had been but guessed at, perhaps the Entente states would not have taken national points of view into consideration in deciding the fate of Upper Silesia. According to the decree of the *first version of the Peace Treaty* Upper Silesia was to be annexed to Poland without further enquiry. But *in consequence of the protests of the Upper Silesian Germans*, these measures were *changed* and it was decided to settle the future destiny of the country by voting. The result of the Plebiscite, which had been fixed by reason of the mistaken supposition that the bulk of the people of Upper Silesia were Poles, was that the majority, though ignorant of the immense importance of this district for Europe were destined to decide its nationality.

The result of the Plebiscite of March 20th 1921 was as follows:

Votes for Germany 707 488

Votes for Poland 479 369

Invalid votes 3 874

683 Parishes voted for Germany.

597 Parishes voted for Poland.

Thus Germany has a majority of 228 119 votes.

The following questions now arise

1. *Is Upper Silesia to be considered as a Unit, so that the result of the Plebiscite is to be strictly followed in the decision for or against Germany?*
2. *Which were the circumstances by which the result of the Plebiscite came about and what is it worth?*

Upper Silesia is in fact a natural political and economic unit. This assertion is based on objective, expert investigation with any standpoint of interest left out of consideration. *The Natural Unity* of Upper Silesia is founded on the topographical and hydrographical conditions of the country. The country is a plain except just in the South where the spurs of the Sudeten Hills project and form the frontier. The River Oder, which is of great importance for the economics of Upper Silesia, runs right through the country. On its way through Upper Silesia the Oder receives all the water courses of the country. Thus, with the exception of quite a small part in the South

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East, science acknowledges it to be a unit topographically and hydrographically. Worthy of note too are the four main roads running through Upper Silesia since times immemorial and connecting the West with the Orient. In former times these old trade routes were not only important for Upper Silesia, but also for Europe; they kept up the connection between the capital of Silesia and Italy and the large markets on the Danube as well as with the Northern ports. These large trade routes too lie parallel with the railways of the Upper Silesian industrial district; they prove to the expert that the Upper Silesian industry has a tendency not to the East (i. e. Poland and Russia) but to the West (i. e. Germany). The political and national unity of Upper Silesia is just as uncontestable. The country is not a Polish country. *The political and national unity of Upper Silesia is not to be disputed. It is not, as the Poles assert, a territory belonging to Poland, but it owes all to German culture and economic development.*

A short enumeration of the historical facts may serve to prove this. Before the 12th century, during the Migration of the Nations, Upper Silesia was already colonised by Germans. The "Piasts"—Silesian princes who strove for German culture and attached themselves to the German Emperor — caused a great influx of Germans from the West who settled in the country. A number of German towns in Upper Silesia were founded as early as the 13th century, above all those towns, which are to day considered the centres of the industry and culture of the country.

Beuthen, the largest but one of the industrial towns of Upper Silesia and Gleiwitz and Tarnowitz were founded in the 13th century. *As early as the beginning of the 13th century a German Lead Mine was started at Repten near Tarnowitz.* In 1335 King Kasimir of Poland formally and solemnly renounced Upper Silesia. Until that time the country had been Polish for the short space of a century and a half only. Upper Silesia then passed to the German crown of the Habsbourgs till the year 1745, when it finally fell under Prussian rule. From that time dates the great economical prosperity of Upper Silesia. Having taken the country from Austria, the Prussian King, Frederick II. pursued with an energy almost unique in history the task of opening up the country economically and morally. He laid the foundation of Upper Silesian Industry, established foundries and raised the production of coal and iron greatly. To this king the stability of Upper Silesians wealth is due. His work has been continued up to the present day with uninterrupted success. Out of these beginnings made by Frederick the Great has grown up through

German work, German technics and German perseverance an economic district, which is indispensable and highly important to Europe's economic life. *The English Premier Lloyd George* rightly said in his famous speech in the House of Commons on May 13th 1921 *that for the last two hundred years Upper Silesia had belonged to the Germans, whereas during the past six hundred years it had certainly never been Polish.* Any objective historical scientist must confirm this fact.

Foreigners who have been in Upper Silesia during the administration of the country by the Interallied Commission have been able to convince themselves *of the National Unity* of Upper Silesia. The Polish idiom, spoken by a great number of the inhabitants is by no means the same as the Polish language nor is it even a dialect of Polish; it is just as little understood in Poland as Polish is spoken or understood by the Upper Silesians. The Upper Silesian people have always considered themselves Germans and for many generations have adhered to German customs. The intention of making Upper Silesia a Polish country and separating it from Germany was never discussed before the war, not even by champions of the Polish idea. In the World War the Silesian regiments were reckoned among the bravest of German troops; the sacrifices the Silesian people made to their country were unlimited. All proofs of national unity are found in the inhabitants of Upper Silesia. They are good Roman Catholics, hardworking and thorough, honest and good natured. The national hatred was artificially roused and kindled to the highest pitch by the methods of the Plebiscite contest. The people of Upper Silesia consider themselves as a national unit and consequently demanded the acknowledgement of this fact in form of an Autonomy. Both the Polish State and Germany have had to take this into consideration. On all sides, both by Poland and Germany, as well as by the Powers of the Peace Treaty Upper Silesia has been considered as a unit. If the Treaty of Versailles had doubted this unity, if the idea expressed by *Briand* on May 24th of the present year in the Chamber of Deputies, viz. that the Plebiscite was to ratify Poland's claim to the whole of Upper Silesia, the Powers of the Peace Treaty would have arranged the Plebiscite by districts as was the case in Sleswick.

The Economic Unity of Upper Silesia has already been mentioned above. First of all, it is undisputable that the economic unity is partly the result of topographical and hydrographical unity. The utilisation of the economical products of the land is dependent on this. Scarcely

anywhere are the treasures of the earth as abundant as in Upper Silesia. The whole country lives on the produce of these treasures. The workmen flock there from all parts of the country. The agricultural part is greatly dependent on the industrial district while on the other hand the latter is dependent on the former. *A division of the country would be followed by incalculable consequences for the whole of Upper Silesia.*

The economical dependence of Upper Silesia on Germany becomes still more *striking* when taking into account following facts: The Oder is the great and cheap thoroughfare, leading from Silesia to the West and forms the means of an extensive exchange of goods. The water highway was improved by canals and harbours which fully answer the demands of to-day and the arrangements of which are adapted to the traffic to the West. The Cosel Harbour is the sixth in importance of all inland harbours of Germany. The Oppeln Harbour too, plays a great part. *The coal output of Upper Silesia by far exceeds the requirement of the country itself in spite of the great consumption of the Upper Silesian foundries.* The mines are therefore obliged to exchange their own products with those of the Western countries and to seek the most favorable terms. Ore is the chief object. In Upper Silesia more foreign than native iron ore is used. With the loss of Alsace Lorraine the problem of ore has become a vital question. Even before the war, when Alsace Lorraine still belonged to Germany, Upper Silesia had to import about half its iron ore. It is clear, that in the future owing especially to the increased demand for ore abroad, the Upper Silesian foundries will only be enabled to secure sufficient ore by giving coal in exchange.

Upper Silesia must open up larger markets for its products, for in coal output it takes the second rank after the Ruhr District and produces about a fifth of all the zinc of the earth. *This utilisation of the important products of the district is only possible, if it can work on the old conditions and go on using the trade routes already existing.* All the trade routes — and these are excellently organised — lead from Upper Silesia to the West i.e. Germany, not to the East i. e. Poland. If the Upper Silesian treasures are to lie idle till available routes leading to Poland are constructed, the question of the reconstruction of Europe is settled. It is a matter of course that the Upper Silesian Industry is also dependent on the West for

many other conditions of existence. *The immense demand for machines and parts of machines as well as for tools can only be covered from the West.* Further, as already mentioned, Upper Silesia is dependent on Germany for a considerable number of its officials and workmen. Every expert examining these questions, earnestly and objectively has till now come to the conclusion that the Upper Silesian industry would soon be ruined, if it were severed from Germany and the West and were forced to adapt itself to the conditions of the East. *The Upper Silesian industry owes its splendid development mainly to the aid of the Prussian and the German States,* which however would have been impossible, if it had not been closely united with German economics as a whole and with the West European economic district. *An enforced change would not only check this favorable development, it would mean its death.* It is also a question whether Poland is in the position to administrate the Upper Silesian Industrial District and to aid in the new gigantic task of European economics. This question has been emphatically negatived by all expert foreigners, to say nothing of the Upper Silesian industrial authorities. *The Polish Industry, for example the mines in the Dombrowa coal district and the Textile Factories at Lodz, have until now been superintended and managed by foreigners; the percentage of Polish engineers is very small. The Polish race are not suited to tasks requiring organisation and technical skill such as are indispensable in the Upper Silesian Industrial District.*

Thus the unity of Upper Silesia is unconditionally confirmed from a natural, political, national and economic standpoint. Even if the Upper Silesian question is to be decided solely from a national point of view, Upper Silesia must fall to Germany, for at the Plebiscite the unity of Upper Silesia resulted in a majority of a quarter of a million votes in favour of Germany. But the economical standpoint is more vital, for Upper Silesia must at all costs fulfil its colossal task in the world's economics and in reconstructing Europe. This can only be done by furthering not by checking its industrial progress. To make sure of this Upper Silesia must remain German.

The result of the Plebiscite (a German majority of nearly a quarter of a million votes) would have been still more favourable for Germany, if the Plebiscite could have been conducted fairly, in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles.

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The decree that only such persons as had been living in Upper Silesia from 1904 were entitled to vote was not at all favourable for Germany. Since 1904 many Germans have settled in Upper Silesia. Having done good work and having acquired property there, they regard Upper Silesia as their home but the voting regulations debarred them from taking any part in deciding the nationality of the country. This however was not the only regulation unfavourable to Germany.

The propaganda of Polish agitators with unlawful means and the Polish terror have produced a false result. In order to judge of its development it is necessary to get a short retrospect of the recent events in Upper Silesia which have partly been made known to the public. *Up to 1918 the question of a Polish movement in Upper Silesia can scarcely be said to have existed.* Even Korfanty, up-to 1918 member of the German „Reichstag“ and to day the leader of the Polish insurgents, had no intention at that time of separating Upper Silesia from Germany: *on the contrary, he repeatedly expressed his opinion that the interests of the Polish tribes demanded their remaining attached to the Central Powers.* It was only towards the end of the war and after the Revolution in Germany that Polish claims were raised. While the disastrous issue of the war with its political and economical consequences paralysed the strength of the Germans in every way and everywhere and made it impossible for them to oppose the national Polish agitation, the Poles were employing all means imaginable and instantly made plans which have come to light during the several insurrections and again in the May Rebellion which is still going on. First of all the Polish agitators took advantage of the wretched economical position of Germany and the food shortage, painting the conditions in Poland in the brightest colours. The general movement among the workmen towards improving their conditions of life during the Revolution was ingeniously made use of by the agitators to tell the ignorant population that the „blood-suckers“ were chiefly Germans. It is true that all the leading men of Upper Silesia's economic structure as well as the immense number of working officials are German Upper Silesians, while the miners, among whom that agitation had the wanted success, declared themselves for Poland. While all the distress and hardships of life were laid at the Germans' door, the Polish agitators made the workmen the most fantastic promises and painted the future under the Polish flag in the brightest colours. *The Polish Agitation was set afoot*

by means of enormous sums of money. The Head Quarters at *Beuthen* under the command of *Korfanty*, comprised a staff of several hundred persons, for the greater part Poles from Warsaw, Cracow and Posen. These set to work in manifold directions. *A regular trade was carried on in votes*, in every form imaginable. They promised the workmen better conditions of life, greater freedom and made them presents of clothes and food; they tried to lure the country people by promising to divide up the larger landed-properties in the Sowjet manner! *Plans of this division were made by the Poles not once, but five times*, To understand these methods of agitation it must be remembered, that the population of Upper Silesia are as hard-working and honest as they are credulous. They believed every word the Polish agitators said. It is characteristic of these Polish agitators that they concealed the depreciation of Poland's rate of exchange from the ignorant mass by telling them *that for every Germ an Mark they, the Poles, could put down ten Polish Marks!* The people believed that too.

In compliance with the instructions of the Holy See and the Cardinal of Breslau, the Catholic Clergy of Germany kept strictly neutral, but the Polish Clergy took an active part in the Polish propaganda, exercising their influence both in the confessional and the pulpit. Considering the enormous influence of the Polish priests on the minds of the people, the effect can easily be imagined.

But all this would not have prevented at least three fourths of the whole population from voting for Germany at the Plebiscite, had not the *Polish Terror*, conducted in a hitherto unprecedented way made votes influenced the Plebiscite against Germany by means of the most brutal force! *On placing himself at the head of the Polish Agitation, Korfanty's first action was to form a Secret Military Organisation.* This was joined to the P. O. W. (*Polska organizacja wojskowa*) an institution started during the first Revolution in Russia in 1904) and to the Polish „*Sokolvereine*“, for which the cultivation of bodily drill *serves as a pretext* and thus formed an organisation with a military character and with military aims. This organisation was appointed to prevent by force the Germans from enlightening the people, to aid the Polish Agitation, and chiefly to provoke riots and bloodshed, which was calculated to convince all wavering minds of the danger of voting for Germany.

The German Government has handed several notes to the Entente exposing and proving by authentic documents the Polish Terror. The Government has also published a big volume of authentic proofs

of influence exercised on the voters! In the districts of *Pless* and *Rybnik*, *Tarnowitz* and *Kattowitz* there are innumerable cases of the Polish Terror having prevented persons born in Upper Silesia, but living elsewhere, from voting in their native parishes, as they were entitled to do in accordance with the Peace Treaty. Several months before the Plebiscite Korfanty in an address held at Rosenberg, urged his adherents *to refuse these „Emigrants“ food and lodgings, to treat them like dogs and to kill them!*

Korfanty knew that it was useless to try to impress the minds of those classes, from among whom he could alone hope to gain supporters *For this reason he based his activity on violence from the very beginning.* In August 1919 a riot broke out, which though at the cost of many lives was soon suppressed by German soldiers. But the second August riot in 1920, occurring during the administration of Upper Silesia by the Interallied Commission was much more serious. The German Upper Silesians were unarmed at the mercy of the fanatic, raging, Polish insurgents.

The number of victims of the August revolt (1920) ran into hundreds. The German village Anhalt was burnt down by the insurgents, German officials and schoolmasters were tortured to death and then mutilated in the most horrible way. At Josefsdorf near Kattowitz ten German men were slaughtered by the Polish insurgents by one single act of revenge. The German White Book and several of the Notes addressed by the German Government to the Entente contain an appalling account of the horrible cruelties committed during this revolt. The photographs of the mutilated victims tell of unequalled cruelty. The revolt subsided after some weeks and finally terminated, but the spark of rebellion was still smouldering. The frontiers leading to Poland were not closed either by the Polish Government or by the Interallied Commission, whose troops would not have been sufficient in number to do so; the insurgents were thus enabled to flee across the frontiers or to deposit their weapons. In the districts near the frontiers regular gangs of robbers committed capital crimes day by day, robbed the safes of the great Works, captured money transports, plundered farms, even setting them on fire and stripped peaceable inhabitants of their clothes, to the shirt.

The German Propaganda was altogether stopped by the Polish Terror especially in the districts of Pless and Rybnik and in the country.

All German organisations were ruthlessly suppressed by force, German meetings forcibly dissolved, German men tortured or murdered — in a word — every crime imaginable was committed for political reasons. In many parts the German „Gemeindevorsteher“ (municipal authority of a village) and schoolmasters were expelled and replaced by Poles who were totally unfitted for the positions. These on the other hand strictly suppressed any German movement in their administrative district. Those who witnessed these methods of violence will understand that even good loyal Germans were so intimidated that they did not dare to vote for Germany, fearing the revenge of the Poles.

The object of the two Polish August insurrections was to add fuel to the national hatred, to intimidate the population and to suppress all feeling for Germany. *Korfanty* has partly gained this end. But at the same time, whichever way we look at it, the result of the election is against the Poles and justifies the decision that Upper Silesia should remain undivided and German. *Korfanty* after having recognized this and being aware of the difference of opinion in the Interallied Commission and of the proposals of the English and Italian Commissions viz. that only small districts were to fall to Poland, while the chief industrial districts were to remain with Germany, determined to stake everything on his last card — force — and to confront the Supreme Council with a „fait accompli“.

The signal for rebellion was a statement in the „Oberschlesischen Grenzzeitung“ that the Interallied Commission was said to have assigned the Districts of Pless and Rybnik to the Republic of Poland while the rest of Upper Silesia was to remain with Germany. The Upper Silesian „Grenzzeitung“ is printed in the German language, but it is a Polish newspaper and *Korfanty*'s chief organ, a fact of which the French President was quite ignorant when he spoke in the Chamber of Deputies of Germany's culpability in the riots. *At the beginning of 1920 Korfanty bought the „Oberschl. Grenzzeitung“ and placed it in the service of the Polish Propaganda. It is the chief cause of the hideous state of things in Upper Silesia. It misled the inhabitants of Upper Silesia, stirred up race hatred and is at the bottom of the incessant violations of the Peace Treaty.*

The May Riots were not caused by the sudden outbreak of national passion, as some may be inclined to think, but by Korfanty and his accomplices at enormous expenditure of money and activity and by long, systematical preparations. It has been proved, both by

the Germans and by members of the Interallied-Commission at Oppeln, that the insurgent army was chiefly composed of Polish troops disguised as civilians. The insurgents have all kinds of weapons: they operate with artillery, mine throwers and tanks. The equipment is first rate and their skill in fighting indicates military discipline and military formation.

The destruction of life and of property by the insurgents is indescribable. The deeds of violence, the murder and atrocities committed by the insurgents not yet all made public are unprecedented in the history of civilised nations. The German men, who have been turned out of house and home or kidnapped and ill-treated in the most outrageous way and slaughtered by Polish gangs, may be counted by thousands. Many victims were most brutally mutilated. They cut off the breasts of women, outraged defenceless men, mutilated German schoolmasters most terribly, put out the eyes of German „Apo“-officials (Plebescite police) and battered the skulls even of innocent children. German towns of the Industrial District were besieged, the water cut off and the inhabitants literally starved. The town of Kattowitz gets its water from the distant Rosaliengrube; at the outset the insurgents cut off water, gas and electric light. The insurgents prevented milk being taken into town even for infants. Sick people and children must perish in misery, but the town is doing its utmost to hold out. There is no doubt whatever that the Poles will not even shrink from carrying out the plan of destroying the industrial works. In the town of Rosenberg the insurgents laid a great many explosions from which, as the „Times“ Correspondent remarks, may be concluded how they intend to act in the industrial district. Robbery and plundering are so common, that a large volume might be filled with the single cases. Large shops, private houses and farms have been plundered and destroyed, the owners and inhabitants turned out or kidnapped.

But Korfanty and his troops did not only persecute the Germans, they also vented their fury on the officials and troops of the Interallied Commission, for venturing to oppose their criminal intentions.

Many Italian soldiers have been killed or wounded in the fight against the insurgents. The authority of English and Italian „Kreiskontrolleure“ [district controllers] has been disregarded by the insurgent officers; in order to get about the country they had to submit to the indignity of using Polish passports. English papers stated, that in modern history great nations have never been treated

with such indignity as the English and Italians by Korfanty and his bands. The Polish Press of Upper Silesia attack England and Italy's neutral attitude in the strongest and most revolting language daily.

Utterly indifferent alike to right and humanity, Korfanty apparently considers himself the master of Upper Silesia and intends to enforce his will on that country and on the whole world. Thus he tried by the policy of the Line of Demarcation to compel the Supreme Council, by placing a „fait accompli“ before them, to cause the Interallied Governments to come to a decision based on this line. Hence his intention in case of failure — of turning Upper Silesia not only into a charnel house but also into a heap of ruins. He has repeatedly expressed his intention, if forced to retreat, of blowing up the Upper Silesian Industrial Works and of putting the mines under water. And in accordance with this, the Polish General Haller declared to a delegation of Upper Silesian Poles, on April 5th 1921 that "even if there is not one stone left on another in Upper Silesia, Upper Silesia must still be ours".

Only by force is Korfanty to be conquered. The German Government has done all, it has the power to do to restore law and order. At the request of the Interallied Commission many loyal German Upper Silesians have volunteered to replace the Polish deserters in the Plebiscite Police Force, and to restore order in the country. The Prussian Government has closed the frontier by means of nine regiments of policemen each consisting of a hundred men. The closing of the Polish frontier has not been carried out. Every day the insurgents get large reinforcements of men and supplies of munition from Poland. Insurgent prisoners state, that after having been trained in large bodies in Posen and Poland by French officers, they are sent to fight in Upper Silesia.

Lloyd George's supposition that the closing of the Polish frontier is rather a sham manoeuvre than a real operation, has been proved by the following facts: The Polish frontier is not closed, on the contrary: The insurgents are vigorously assisted from Poland. Only a peremptory decree from the Entente Powers can put a stop to a state of things which is becoming an ever increasing menace to Europe.

The immediate suppression of the revolt is not only a commandment of humanity and of solemnly proclaimed right, it is a political forethought. *A horrible foreboding lies in the growth tendency of the*

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Polish revolt towards Bolshevism. In the hands of Poland, Upper Silesia would be a gate for Russian Bolshevism. This has been predicted by many representatives of the Entente, who have studied all the conditions of Upper Silesia on the spot. Upper Silesia is the only great industrial region of the German East. The Bolsheviks can scarcely be supposed to attempt forcing their way through the farming districts, but the Upper Silesian Industrial district offers a gateway and a bridge for the Bolsheviks from the East. This movement has progressed far beyond the first beginnings. The political and economic conditions in Poland are in greater confusion than ever. The objective opinion of the expert is, that Poland is unable for many years to come to attain salutary economical conditions which would be the only thing to check the growth of Bolshevism. The representatives of Moscow are even now at work in Upper Silesia, where they are taking advantage of the chaos set afoot by Korfanty, by augmenting the disorder in order to make use of an opportune moment to capture Western Europe for Bolshevism. Bolshevik societies have already been established in some parts of the Industrial District. *The „Rada ludowa“ (Polish National Council) which embraces many radical members has again been formed in the rebels' quarters.* The Polish Bolsheviks are working hand in hand with the radicals of Moscow. Bolshevism is a pending danger for Upper Silesia, if all energy is not used to restore peace and order at once! Korfanty's insurgents are not men who consider the salvation of the future to lie in work and reconstruction; they are vagrants, living on the money so freely dispensed from Korfanty's ample resources; they have got accustomed in recent years to live the lives of lawless adventurers and they shun work and order. Sound conditions of life in Upper Silesia and with it the prevention of the greatest danger imaginable for Germany and for all Western Europe is only to be brought about by a radical removal of troublesome elements. The symptoms of the moment give reason to suppose, that criminality would again crop up, if the Polish revolt were gradually suppressed in which case violence would not be killed, but would merely be subdued and smoldering. Thus a speedy solution of the Upper Silesian problem and a prompt removal of lawlessness, violence and inhumanity is not only a measure Europe has a right to demand, but is a most sacred duty. As Lloyd George says, there are in Upper Silesia germs of most dangerous tendencies for Europe. Upper Silesia is beginning to be a Balkan which outstrips the former conditions of that peninsula, which was so harrassing to Europe for many decades.

All the abominable crimes and the dangers attendant on them occurred under the very eyes of the Interallied Commission and their officers, whose special task it was to guarantee peace and order in the land and to secure a just and impartial Plebiscite. When the President of the Interallied Commission, the French General le Rond, undertook the administration, he solemnly vowed by proclamation that a new era of peace and justice should begin. How then was it possible for all these crimes to be committed?

In answer to this question the following facts, which can be considerably supplemented and proved, are significant.

When the troops of the French occupation army entered Upper Silesia, they were in complete ignorance concerning the conditions of the country. So it happened that in several towns they were conducted to their quarters by Polish Unions, carrying Polish flags, with music and singing and they were thus stamped by the Polish minded population their allies. The wearing of national decorations, the singing of national songs and above all public demonstrations were forbidden under severe penalties by the Interallied Commission; the French officers of the Interallied Commission enforced these regulations on the German population, but were very lenient to the Poles, e. g. when at funerals of political partisans, the Poles took the opportunity for demonstrations, they were not prevented. Even on the Polish National Holiday at the beginning of May 1920, when they organised demonstrations in the larger German towns of Upper Silesia amid a concourse of thousands of their adherents, bands of Haller-soldiers in uniform and armed, with Polish banners borne in front, nothing was done to put a stop to it. On the occupation by the Entente Powers, the German newspapers held the opinion, that by Peace Treaty prohibited any agitation; not so the Polish press, which started an unheard of campaign of agitation and calumny. German newspapers which stood up against this partiality were forbidden to appear regularly for several weeks or even longer for the slightest violation of the regulations, whereas Polish newspapers in spite of their unbridled agitations were only in two cases prohibited temporarily. The French officers ruthlessly proceeded against objectionable Germans, whereas the Polish agitators were allowed to provoke and menace the German people with impunity. Korfanty's speech at Rosenberg, in which he tried to influence the Plebiscite by inviting his adherents to use violence, was a breach of

the regulations, which threatened with expulsion was for this offence. The German Plebiscite Commissioner demanded the expelling of Korfanty, but General le Rond passed over the matter. Korfanty was not prevented repeating this offence against the Peace Treaty several times under the eyes of the Interallied officers.

The French officers searched for and confiscated all German weapons. *But when Germans gave information of the existence of stores of Polish arms or Polish Military Organisations or of planned acts of violence, no notice was taken by the French authorities, although the informations were supported by authentic evidences. The houses of the Poles were not searched and thus they were able to amass arms to the extent shown in the May Riots.* Only in very rare cases did Germans receive licenses for bearing arms, but all Poles who produced a warrant, furnished at the Polish head quarters, had no trouble in getting them from the French Commissioners; even the assassin of Kupka had this permit. It is alleged that the French troops were surprised by the August Riots in 1920, whereas the revolt was more likely supported by their inactivity, in fact in some cases the rebels were even supplied with munition by the French. Several French Controllers even expressly sanctioned the arming of the rebels, by allowing them to establish a Civil Militia consisting for the greater part of youthful and criminal elements, quite unsuited for political purposes. At the request of the Poles, the Safety Police Force of Upper Silesia was dissolved and substituted by a Plebiscite Police Force. Only part of the men of the Safety Police and only such as had been born in Upper Silesia were allowed to remain, the rest were replaced by badly trained men, whose chief qualification consisted in a recommendation from Korfanty. It has been proved that Korfanty was allowed to inspect the newly formed Plebiscite Police Force and to assure himself of their loyalty to the Polish cause.

When Polish criminals were to appear at the German lawcourts for grave offences, they were by the French Prosecutor General summoned before a special court of justice of the Interallied Commission at Oppeln. So also in the case of the murderer of Kupka. On November 20th 1920, the editor of the „Wola Ludu“ (The People's Will) *Theofil Kupka* who in his paper had fiercely attacked Korfanty whose collaborator he had previously been, *was shot at his home by four men of the Korfanty Bojowka.* The investigations conducted by the German authorities at Beuthen resulted in many proofs of the murder having been a political crime committed for the Polish cause.

On the day preceding the chief trial, the French Prosecutor General at Oppeln demanded the documents of the case, *while the prisoner, the locksmith Josef Myrczik, on remand in Beuthen Gaol, was carried off to Oppeln by French soldiers.* According to the French Solicitor General the criminal was to be tried before the special court at Oppeln. Although the documents contain evidence of the guilt of the prisoner so strong that, according to the opinion of advocates, he would have been found guilty at the chief trial on Februar 24th 1921 at Beuthen, the case is still pending.

Thus criminality was allowed to flourish in the very sight of the occupation army. All endeavours of the leading German authorities to get the Polish frontier closed had no effect. Political and civil criminals used the open Polish frontier for incursions and retreats and they got their reserves from there.

The partiality has been seen clearest duringt he still raging May riots.

With a firm will the rebellion might have been nipped in the bud. In the Chamber of Deputies Briand declared that the French troops in Upper Silesia, amounting to 14 000 men only, would have been at too great odds against the rebels. That is altogether wrong. The French troops are equipped with all the latest means of defence and the soldiers are xcellent. These troops are also far superior to an army of insurgents greater in number than theirs. But not only the inactivity on part of the French, but also their open support of the insurgents has been proved. English, American and Italian newspapers have alike stated that French shells and munitions have been used by the insurgents. It is further proved that French lorries conveyed munition to the rebels. In several towns and villages by order of the Commander-in-Chief of the French, the Italien garrison was relieved by French troops, who, a few days after, surrendered the places in question to the insurgents, *although the French Local Commander had promised the Germans his protection, and in some cases had even given his word of honour to defend the place to the last man. Everywhere the capitulation took place without any fighting.* At Gleiwitz the Plebiscite Police under the Interallied Commission was disarmed by the French. If in answer to a question put by a representative of the Government in the English House of Commons, it was said that the French troops had had losses, consequently by they must have fought, this argument is erroneous, for the few French losses are to be ascribed to accidents as the Upper Silesian reporter of the London „Morning Post“ has ascertained. At any rate it was only the

Italian troops who fought and they did so with the greatest heroism. English troops were not then stationed there.

The answer to the question how all these things could go on under the eyes of the Interallied Commission is, that the French authorities of the Interallied Commission, with General le Rond at their head, did not oppose the Poles and thus led them on to believe that they might count with their support, they being in many cases encouraged by them. French officers and occupation troops, with General le Rond at their head have a share in the guilt of all these fearful occurrences.

In contradistinction to them the Italian and English officers of the Interallied Commission and the Italian troops — English troops were only now and again stationed in Upper Silesia — did their duty in every respect and in some cases sealed it with their blood.

Now the task is to quell the rebellion at once and emphatically, Each fresh attack of the rebels daily demands irreparable losses of life and property, losses which must in a short time unquestionably undermine Upper Silesia's economical organisation. Further the moment has come for pronouncing final judgment on the fate of Upper Silesia, uninfluenced by Polish Terror and purely in the light of impartiality and fairness. The provisional division into three parts lately discussed in the newspapers — a German zone, a neutral zone, occupied by the Entente powers and a Polish — would but be a source of more dissension, would serve to sever economic units, and shatter the strengths of Upper Silesia.

Justice demands that Upper Silesia should be considered as a natural, political, economic and cultural unit and in accordance with its great German majority in the Plebiscite should be assigned to Germany.

Poland can exist without Upper Silesia, it has such coal resources as would far exceed the requirements of Poland. Through the Peace Treaty Germany's economic organisation has become poor in coal, and will collapse altogether, if she loses Upper Silesia. It is the unbiassed opinion of neutral experts that Upper Silesia's industry will perish if separated from Germany and linked to Poland. Nothing shows this more clearly than the proceedings of the May Riots. Germany will be unable to fulfil her stupendous obligations in the World's Economics and in the reconstruction of Europe, should the decision be in favour of Poland. The Upper Silesian Question has intentionally been made a national

one: the population ever lived peacefully side by side; in the May rebellion only a small number took up arms voluntarily. Through centuries Poland raised no claim to Upper Silesia. It is only now when Germany lies bleeding on the ground, that Poland stretches out her hand for Upper Silesia and her wealth, which is due to German skill and German labour, seeking to enforce her claims in despite of historical facts. If the decision is made from a national point of view Upper Silesia must in fairness to the German majority at the Plebiscite, fall to Germany. The national feud which Korfanty has sown time will kill. Europe's future which greatly depends on a speedy reconstruction and restoration of Economics — also of German economics — is more vital than the petty national strife in Upper Silesia.

We appeal as a last resource to an expert judgement, a judgment that above all considers the requirements of the Economic Structure of the World, to the judgment of all commercial and industrial circles of the World who, aware of the needs of the moment and their causes have as an aim the reconstruction of the Economic Powers of Europe and of the Whole World — we appeal to the fair and just judgment of all.

It must amount to this: Upper Silesia is indispensable for the reconstruction, which it can only do its share to accomplish if it remains German, in compliance with the demands of Humanity, of Justice, of the Treaty of Versailles and of the Future of Europe.

**Chamber of Commerce
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